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Social and political origins of Neo-Fascism

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> „The missionaries of Christianity once declared: You don't have any right to live as Jews amongst us. The following secular rulers pronounced: You dont have any right to live among us. The german Nazis at last decreed: You don't have any right to live“.
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> Raul Hilberg, *The destruction of european jews,* 1961

1.

Fascism is the political expression of the profound crisis concerning the integration of capitalist society. Already within market conditions he anticipates this crisis and organizes the ideological and material means of political management. Fascism intends immidiat and direct subordination. For that reason he appears as a decided *opponent* -or, as a *Nazi*, – as a unconditional *antagonist* of the modes ans means of capitalist mediation, as an enemy of money and mind. He bases on the institutions of force within the space of the so-called 'civic society' and acts as nothing else than the political agent of the *authorian state*. He wants to transform society in a barrack yard. He tries to organize the production of consent by means of plebiscite and public applause: Therefore the fascist leader must have *charisma* – according to the defintion of Max Weber it’s nothing than the ephemere humanization of the compulsory character of the social reproduction of society as a capitalist society.

2.

Fascism reflects the attempt to make up for industrialization. This means: He is „charged“ to organize primary accumulation of capital *par force*, by means of concentrated mastery and authorian command in a very short time. Therefore he appears as a revolutionary movement and as a rigid critic of bourgeois culture. Compared to it *Nationalsocialism* was the social forced relapse in primary accumulation in times and by modes of displaying and succeeding capitalism: „Negative abolition of capital on its own fundamentals“(Marx), this means: „Barbarism“(Rosa Luxemburg).

3.

Bourgeois society is a structural racist und principal antisemitist society. Since French Revolution the identity of the bourgeois individual has been guaranteed and helt together by means of a doubled demarcation. As a *national-bourgeois* he gains his selfconsciousness als well as his selfreliance as a productive and loyal individual, who is nevertheless permanently distrusting himself as an egoist. Therefore he glorifies .himself only in fighting the inferior (*rascism*) and in annihilating the superior (*anti-Semitism*): They both are the quintessence of all that seems to threaten the social cohesion of his society. In fear of „anarchy“ and chaos he himself produces an enemy, by means of whose discrimination and pursuit he inables himself to establish social „order“. Suppose the case neither negro nor jew existed - the bourgeois individual must and would invent them.both. He needs them to constitute himself. In such a manner both, the ‘idle and sluggish’ negro and the 'crafty and perfidious' jew, are products of the manufacturing method – they have to symbolize on the one hand the impending transformation of the bourgeois in merely nature, on the other they have to represent the sworn enemy of every competitor, the better and superior rival. From this is to be explained the famous sentence of Max Horkheimer from 1939: „The new order, which started as a progressive order in 1789, contained from the beginning nationalsocialism as its objetive possibility“.

4.

Nationalsocialism is the „third way“ between capitalism and communism, the war against both the subhuman and superhuman mankind and simultaneously the trial to immortalize capital als natural mode of production. .That is why his so-called *Anti-capitalism* is anything else than lie – bloody seriousness on the contrary, which wants to annihilate money, this permanent mysterious mediation between commodities and requirements, once for all. In the same way his vehement so-called *Anti-etatism* and his protest against the 'mechanic' and 'unfeeling'state are anything else than

simply manipulation, anything else than merely wings in front of capital interests. The Nazi is, practical and intellectual, the totalized exploitation and domination. Like he intends to abolish money, so he wants to destroy state. He wants to implant tidiness and orderliness in the „soul“ of the individual, that is to be transformed in an ant; state should be based on instinct. Even therefore the Nazi acts as an anti-Semit and racist – he has to engage himself against „cosmopolitism“ and against this hopeless rotten human material, which is no good to give first class soldiers. – Compared to it *Fascism* is the trial to nacism; wether or not he cames to a dead stop in the mere rascism, wherein he has his ’take off’ is to be arbitrated not by his leaders but by the type and rhythm of the capitalist crisis,

5.

Fascism and *Nazism* both gain their enormous energy and fascinating vigour as a result of their negative criticism in the bourgeois ideology of „liberté, egalité, securité“. On behalf of this criticism they gain their absolute credibility. Its impossible to get the better of them by discussion because the argument must fail against an ideology, which is evidently the sorrofull and disgusting truth, of capitalist society. How often the „Minutes of the wise man of Zion“ have been, without any result, refuted? – Bourgeois ideology is the necessary both mental as intellectual superstructure of the system of equal and free exchange. It's impossible to realize this ideology, but nevertheless as social subjects are permanent forced to try it again and again. Therein consists the calculated gambit of politics, the mirror performance, which confronts reality and ideality for the purpose of reproduction of the system as a self-moving totality. It designates – in forms of normal political competition of social- and christiandemocrats, the normality of a bourgeois society. Crisis provocates a doubled instability of ideology – on the one hand through the leftist opponent, who inquires the realization of all this bourgeois promises: he cries for „just payment“ and „righteous government“; on the other side by the fascist zynism, which surpasses the claims of bourgeois ideology: He claims for the „egalité“ under the boots of power, he wants to establish the freedom of the „Volksgemeinschaft“ in murdering, he demands fraternity in the army. Fascism is Anti-bolshevism and Hitler is, in the eyes of a member of bourgeois society, every time more trustworthy than Lenin. Unless-;the basic ecperience of the atomized individual is not the proud as the result of work but anxiety, which is incited and stimulated by the rightist to the only purpose to be calmed within the collectiv, which battles the enemies of the nation. It is the fear of abundance as basic experience, the sentiment to be superfluous for the forthcoming of social production. Everybody knows the things would function without him, perhaps even better.

6.

The individual in capitalist society is to be described and notioned as a merely temporal charged by productive obligations national-bourgeois. He lives under a double pressure, ecomically and politically. State and capital force him to assert and to verify permanently his *productivity* and *loyalty*. But all his efforts are in vain – because nothing else is the motive of capitalist rationalization than the interest to constitute capital as an autonomous and independent self-moving subject, a subjekt, which incorporates *the mystery of animated work* – .surplus value – to the machines; and because nothing else is the motive of the authorian state than the interest to constitute himself independend from the willtalen-ted and therefore arbitrary action gifted individual. In such a manner and by the method of political abstractification the state tries to destillate the *mystery of loyalty* – fidelety to the very last: death – and to incorporate it into the .institutions of power.

7.

Fascism has to be conceived from its radical and extreme consequence, *Nationalsocialism*. He wears the character of his action and method in his name: *social* nationalism on the one hand, *national* socialism on the other. As a *socialism* he shares all the bourgeois illusions on money and capital with his leftist opponent. As a *nationalism* indeed he knows the state much better than all his bourgeois oder working class opponents together. The Nazi ist the genuine and objektive ideologist of state.

8.

No critic of Nationalsocialism without refutation of both nationalism and socialism; there can be no both truly and practically critic of nationalism without the critic of state. State, indifferent whether bourgeois or 'socialist' state, is the creator of nation. He inaugurates all that repressive definitions of what has to be current as „german“, „french“ or „american“. In such a manner the at the time and in each case compulsory „national identity“ is the quintessence of absolute productivity and unquestionable loyalty;“the“ german is nothing than the „ensemble“ of all claims, which

extorts the state from his subjects with the title of total obedience. The most important notion of the *national*-state is the notion of *homogenity*, the notion of equality and equal descent of all the members of a *nation*. (It does'nt matter whether we speak according to the bourgeois democrat Immanuel Kant of the „equality off all those, which wear human faces“ or if we speak, for example with Nicolae Ceaucescu, from the „process of socialist homgenization“, or if we speak, for example with Adolf Hitler, of „racial equality“: All these defintitions are defintions of homogenity, wether with regard to civil rights, wether with regard to „work“ or with regard to „race“, whose subject perpetually is the souvereign).

10.

The ideology of national homogenity – that means: identity – is an action stimulating ideology. *She materializes in the law and in the jurisdiction of citizenship*. She becomes a weapon by means of the innumerable administrative designations in the law of asylum, in the law of naturalization and denationalization, she gains a horrible efficiency in the law of the aliens, stateless and foreigners, she practizes herself in the obligation to carry a passport and in the right of every policeman to examinate the identity of a person. The law of citizenship is the mode of production of homogenity. Every day and at each the question: what is „German“ has to be answered – and she is to be answered by the frontier police. In such a manner the statefrontier is located in the midst of the population. It seperates in the interior once again, the citizens from each other and from the foreigners from the asylants from the tolerated from the stateless and, at the end of all, from the refugees and fugitives, which try to reach the interior state under cover of darkness. The law and the administrative machine of citizenship inaugurate a monstruous and enormously efficacious system of distincition, segregation and discrimination, whose subjekt the souvereign is und whose machinations surpass the socially produced anxiety of the isolated individual in direction to mortal dread.

11.

The as well productive as obedient individual makes at the example of the unemployed fugitive the lasting experience of abundance. It gets paralysed with fear and it reacts with all the forms of subalternaty and mimikry to power. This individual frightens all the other by means of „national identity“ – only to the purpose to verify and to demonstrate his own and private utility for the aims of power and profit.

12.

Therefore the radical criticism of Fascism and Nationalsocialism has to be essential criticism of state and capital. The organized Fascism is a merely secondary phenomenon; the traditional leftist and liberal Anti-fascism is a part of. the system of ideology. On the contrary: No exploitation without domination – no domination without exploitation: This has to be the axiom of any campaign against fascism, which resists against Self-disarmament by the mirror performance of ideology.

13.

In his opus magnum „Mein Kampf” Adolf Hitler has formulated the advantages of nationalism in such a manner, that no veritable statesman can ignore his theory of political management or refuse his consent: „It has to be a greater honour to earn his life as a scavenger in this country than to be a king in a foreign country“. *Nation* represents the Anti-notion to freedom as *free association*; *race*, the radical and substantial representation of the ideology of nation is the Anti-notion to the state- and classless society. Nothing else Hitler made known than all the usaal political manners of state in regard to his human material, to his „humancapital“, like the political economy says. Anti-Semitism draws the fatal consequences of Anti-Judaism; the Nuremberg laws knew half, quarter and eighth jews – like once the Spanish Inquisition knew half, quarter and eighth christs. This means: Human reason is incapable to conceive not only the substance of christ but also the essence of german. Nobody can reply to this question, neither empirist nor philosopher – and in fatal consequence to this objective dilemma the question is only to be answered by the practice of manslaughter, only by murdering the definitivly agnostic and alien people. „Identity is death“ (Adorno): The question concerning the nature of human beings – a question, which every frontier policeman asks every day when he requests the identity card – is to be answered only by annihilating the accidentals and by liquidating the abundants.

14.

The growth of Neo-Fascism signalizes the crisis of economy and state to be imminent. Schönhuber and Le Pen are the protagonists of the state of emergency and the rule of the martial law. But nevertheless: The battle against the national Socialist and the social nationalist can't aim the fascist directly. They are merely the phenomenons of crisis, certainly phenomenons of a striking power. But the vital point is essentially: „Who want's to hit Schonhuber can't risk to fail Weizsacker" (Thomas Ebermann).

15.

The antifascist agitation has to appropriate intellectually and practically the sentence of Th. W. Adorno: „An emancipiated society could'nt be a totalitarian state, but the realization of the totality by means of reconciliation of difference. Politics, which truly aim on this, should'nt announce the idea of the abstract equality of mankind. Therefore she should denounce the bad equality of today, and think the better social state as a condition, where everybody can be different without fear".

16.

Antifascist *enlightment* today means the denounciation of nation by means of criticism of state, means the polemic against „national identity" and their unmasking as drill to sacrifice. Antifascist *action* today has to be the practical sabotage of the law of citizenship und their institutions, Antifascism today is – at least – the assistance to escape.